



University of California, Berkeley

# Center for Slavic and East European Studies

## Newsletter

Spring 2003  
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### Newsletter of the Center for Slavic and East European Studies

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Please send suggestions, corrections, or inquiries to the *Newsletter* editors at the address above. We welcome your comments and suggestions.

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## Notes from the Director

In these unsettled times, it behooves us more than ever to understand the causes and consequences of violence inflicted by extremist groups. The United States is not alone in facing profound challenges following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. Like us, our West European allies are struggling to find a reasonable balance between respect for civil liberties and freedom of expression on the one hand and the need to protect society from acts of terrorism carried out in the name of extremist ideologies. So, too, is Russia wrestling with these issues, as highlighted most dramatically by the ongoing violence and human rights abuses being perpetrated by federal forces in Chechnya, as well as human rights violations and acts of terrorism by the Chechen resistance, such as the recent hostage-taking incident in Moscow. Nor should it be assumed that the only extremist challenge in Russia, or indeed elsewhere, comes from Islamist extremists. As Vladimir Putin put it in his state of the nation address on April 18, 2002: "The growth of extremism presents a serious threat to stability and public safety in our country. We are talking above all here about those who organize attacks under fascist and nationalist slogans and flags, beating and killing people." Six weeks later, Russia's State Duma passed a controversial government-sponsored anti-extremism bill.

In an effort to contribute to our understanding of this important topic, I am pleased to report that we are embarking on a special initiative, funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York and administered by the Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies (BPS), for graduate training and research on "Extremism in the New Eurasia." Over the next two years, BPS will preside over seminars, a working paper series, a web page, and other activities aimed at stimulating our thinking and scholarly research on these important topics. Our focus will be on varieties of extremist organizations and ideologies in Russia, the South Caucasus, and Central Asia, both contemporary and historical; the roots of extremist violence; state policies that promote or deter extremist violence; the implications of efforts to combat terrorism for civil liberties, democracy, and the rule of law; and the impact of extremism on international peace and security in Eurasia.

Also in response to the complex times in which we live, the Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (ISEEES) has planned several major conferences during the spring semester 2003. The first of these, the XXVIIIth Annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference, will be held on March 7, 2003. "The Power of Ideas and Ideas of Power in East Europe and Eurasia," will highlight three major themes: (1) how specific ideas (and concepts and discourses) have influenced the course of events and the development of institutions, particularly institutions of power; (2) how ideas have been transformed and have traveled over time; and (3) how the media (e.g., film, posters, television, newspapers, books) have served to convey certain

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ideas, particularly (though not exclusively) about power. The program is reproduced within this newsletter.

The following week, March 14–15, 2003, the Caucasus and Central Asia Program (CCAsP) will hold a conference, “Rocks and Hard Places: Society and the Environment in Central Asia.” The conference, which will feature four panels (nomadic cultures, sedentary cultures, questions of governance, and security issues) that examine the relationship between the physical environment and society, both historically and today. Questions to be addressed include: How have nomadic and sedentary cultures adapted to the demands of the physical world? What role has the environment had in shaping governance in the region? What impact has the environment had on attempts to modernize Central Asia? Are differences over resource use (particularly water) contributing to interstate tensions in the region, and do those tensions have the potential to lead to violence?

The XXVIIIth Annual Teacher Outreach Conference, supported by our Title VI grant from the US Department of Education, will be held on Saturday and Sunday, April 26–27, 2003 on the topic “The Muslim World in East Europe and Eurasia.” The conference will explore the contemporary role of Islam in Russia, the Caucasus, Central Asia, and the Balkans, with attention to historical background as well as particular regional and local contexts. The presentations by specialists from UC Berkeley and other campuses in the United States and abroad will highlight the varieties of experience among Muslims, the political aspects of Islam, and the role of religious movements/parties/groups among Muslims.

As always, ISEEEES will sponsor various bag lunches and lectures during the spring semester. Particularly noteworthy is the 2003 Annual Peter N. Kujachich Lecture in Serbian

and Montenegrin Studies to be presented by Dr. Audrey Helfant Budding, Lecturer on Social Studies at Harvard University, on Tuesday, March 18. She will speak on “Explaining Nationalism: The Serbian Case.”

ISEEEES is also planning a “Series of Lectures on the Balkans” during the coming months. The speakers will include Professor Roumen Daskalov, from the University of Sofia, Bulgaria, currently Visiting Professor in the UCB Department of History; and Inger Skjelsbaek, Researcher at PRIO in Norway. A program will be mailed to our Associates of the Slavic Center and will be available at ISEEEES and on our Web site. The lecture series is funded in part by our Title VI grant from the US Department of Education.

It also gives me great pleasure to share the news of the appointment of Stephan Astourian as Assistant Adjunct Professor of History and Executive Director of the Armenian Studies Program. In addition to the extension and confirmation of future courses in the department that deal with Armenia, Dr. Astourian’s appointment reinforces the commitment of the University and ISEEEES to the Armenian Studies Program.

I hope to see many of you at ISEEEES events this spring!

Victoria E. Bonnell  
Director, Institute of Slavic, East European, and  
Eurasian Studies  
Professor, Department of Sociology

## Take a Bear Trek to Russia

### *The Pageantry of St. Petersburg*

Celebrate the 2003 tercentennial of St. Petersburg with Bear Treks, October 5–13, 2003. ISEEEES Executive Director Barbara Voytek will accompany the tour.

For information, call Bear Treks at (510) 642-3717 or (888) CAL-ALUM.



## **The Power of Ideas and Ideas of Power In Eastern Europe and Eurasia**

Friday, March 7, 2003  
Lipman Room, Barrows Hall  
UC Berkeley campus

**9:45 A.M. WELCOMING REMARKS**  
Victoria Bonnell, UC Berkeley

**10 A.M.–12 NOON PANEL I: BEFORE WORLD WAR I**

Chair: David Frick, UC Berkeley

Nancy Kollman, Stanford University  
“The Idea of the Just Tsar”

Monika Greenleaf, Stanford University  
“The Changing Idea of Autobiography in Catherine  
the Great’s Memoirs”

Reginald Zelnik, UC Berkeley  
“The Idea of the Worker on the Russian  
Left”

**12 NOON–1 P.M. LUNCH BREAK**

**1 P.M.–3 P.M. PANEL II: THE COMMUNIST  
ERA**

Chair: Yuri Slezkine, UC Berkeley

Francine Hirsch, Hoover Institution/  
Stanford University  
“The Ideas of Nationality and Race  
in the Soviet Union, 1918-1941”

Norman Naimark, Stanford  
University  
“The Idea of People’s Democracy  
After World War II”

George Breslauer, UC Berkeley  
“Ideas and the Collapse of the  
Soviet Union”

**3 P.M.–3:15 P.M. BREAK**

**3:15 P.M.–5:15 P.M. PANEL III: AFTER COMMUNISM**

Chair: Andrew Janos, UC Berkeley

Julia Bader, UC Berkeley  
“The Idea of Suffering in Recent Hungarian  
Cinema”

M. Steven Fish, UC Berkeley  
“Ideas of Power, Nation, and Democracy in  
Eurasia”

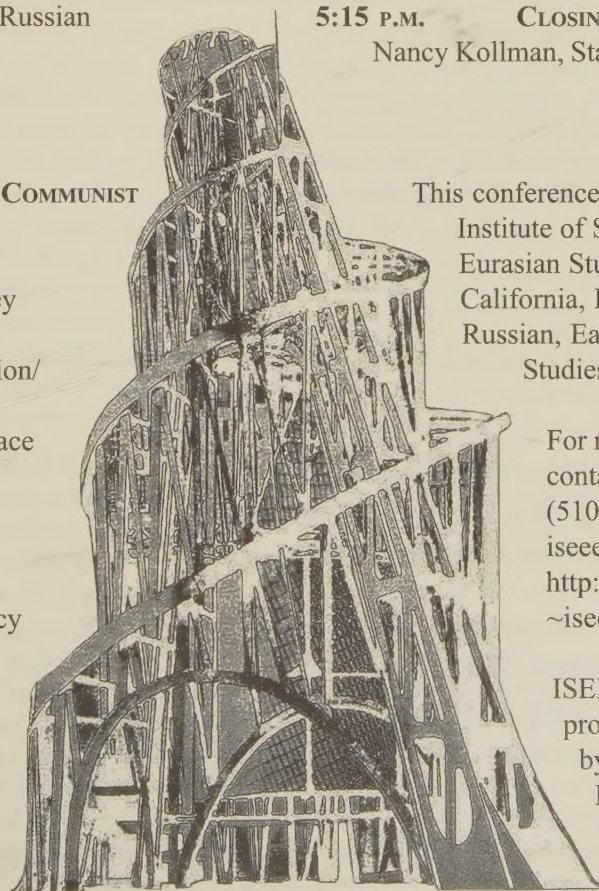
Gregory Freidin, Stanford University  
“The Idea of the ‘Other’”

**5:15 P.M. CLOSING REMARKS**  
Nancy Kollman, Stanford University

This conference is sponsored by the  
Institute of Slavic, East European, and  
Eurasian Studies at the University of  
California, Berkeley and the Center for  
Russian, East European, and Eurasian  
Studies at Stanford University.

For more information, please  
contact ISEEEES at  
(510) 642-3230,  
[iseeees@uclink4.berkeley.edu](mailto:iseeees@uclink4.berkeley.edu), or  
<http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~iseeees/>.

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Department of Education  
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# Spring 2003 Courses

## *Selected Faculty Course Offerings and Selected Area-Related Courses*

Anthro 134B	Multimedia Authoring for European Archaeology	R. Tringham
Comp Lit 190.2	Travel Literature of the European and Russian Enlightenment	A. Kahn
East Euro St 100	Advanced Hungarian Readings	A. Mihalik
Econ 215A	Political Economy	G. Roland
English 166.1/Slavic 134F	Vladimir Nabokov	E. Naiman
English 166.3	Russian, French, and American Novels of Adultery	L. Knapp
Geography 215	Post-State Socialism: China through a Russian Lens	Y. Hsing
History 171C	The Soviet Union, 1917 to the Present	Y. Slezkine
History 173C	South-East Europe in the Modern Epoch	R. Daskalov
History 177A	Armenia	S. Astourian
History 275B.2	Introduction to Late Modern European History	R. Zelnik
History 280B.7	The Great War: Crucible of the Twentieth Century	M. Anderson
History 285B.2/Slavic 280	Reformations East and West	D. Frick / T. Brady
History 285B.5	Research Topics in Soviet History	Slezkine
Law 264.92	Legal Systems in Muslim Nations	M. Khan
Music 128I	Russian Music	R. Taruskin
NES 126	Silk Road Art and Archaeology	S. Mehendale
Poli Sci 2	Introduction to Comparative Politics	A. Janos
Poli Sci 129B	Russia after Communism	M.S. Fish
Poli Sci 149.2	Islam and Politics in Soviet Successor States	V. Naumkin
Poli Sci 200	Comparative Politics	M.S. Fish
Slavic R5A	Reading and Composition	M. Kunichika
Slavic R5B	Reading and Composition	M. Viise
Slavic R5B	Reading and Composition	T. Lindsey
Slavic 46	20th-Century Russian Literature	O. Matich
Slavic 133/English 166.3	Russian, French, and American Novels of Adultery	L. Knapp
Slavic 134C	Dostoevsky	O. Matich
Slavic 134F/English 166.1	Vladimir Nabokov	E. Naiman
Slavic 148	Early Modern Russian Culture	V. Zhivov
Slavic 151	Readings in Polish Literature	D. Frick
Slavic 162	Topics in Czech Language and Literature	A. Timberlake
Slavic 170	Survey of Yugoslav Literatures	R. Alexander
Slavic 171	Readings in Yugoslav Literatures	R. Alexander
Slavic 230	Historical Grammar of Slavic Languages	V. Zhivov
Slavic 246A	Russian Modernism	O. Matich
Slavic 280.2	Orthodox Religious Culture	V. Zhivov
Slavic 280.3	Reformations East and West	D. Frick / T. Brady
Slavic 280.4	Alexander Pushkin: The Writer and His Age	A. Kahn
Sociology 272C	Comparative and Historical Research	V. Bonnell

### Language Instruction

In addition to the listings above, the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures is offering language courses in Bulgarian, Czech, Georgian, Hungarian, Polish, Russian, Serbian/Croatian, and Uzbek.



# The Modern Slave Trade in Post-Communist Europe

*Michael Carpenter*

*Michael Carpenter received his Ph.D. from Berkeley's Department of Political Science in 2002 for his dissertation on "The Politics of Identity and the Breakthrough to Liberal Democracy in Poland, 1980-1999." He is currently working on an article looking into the origins and development of nineteenth-century Polish liberalism. He will soon take up a position as a Foreign Service Officer for the US Department of State.*

In November 2000, the Russian media exposed a story so shocking that it was soon picked up by virtually every major Western newspaper. A middle-aged grandmother had been apprehended in the central Russian city of Ryazan trying to sell her five-year-old grandson to an undercover police office posing as a trafficker in human organs.<sup>1</sup> Besides raising the issue of sheer human depravity, the story also highlighted a bigger, more institutionalized concern of human rights organizations around the globe: trafficking in human beings.

Anyone who has traveled extensively by car through Eastern Europe has surely come across one of the many roadside brothels that dot the landscape in this region. The sex workers in these makeshift "rest areas" are often desperate women who were duped into sexual exploitation by the promise of a job and a better life in the West. Impoverished young women from countries like Ukraine, Romania, or Moldova are regularly "recruited" by traffickers who promise them a good job in a Western country. Once in the hands of the traffickers, however, these women are stripped of their passports and identity documents and transported to a place often different from where they were originally told they would be taken. At their point of destination—usually an illegal brothel somewhere in Central or Western Europe—they are sold to a pimp for anywhere from \$150 to \$15,000. Many are gang-raped and beaten into submission. They are then forced to prostitute themselves to "pay their bills."

Although some trafficked women are told ahead of time that they will be required to work as prostitutes, few, if any, realize that they will become modern-day slaves. The scheme of enslavement used by most traffickers, "debt bondage," works as follows. The women are told upon arrival at their destination that they have to repay an exorbitant "debt" to their new "owner," ostensibly to cover the costs of their trafficking and to secure "protection." However, since most women are constantly being sold and re-sold, they in fact never have the remotest opportunity of repaying their original "debt." As a result, they remain slaves until they are no longer desired by their traffickers.

During this time, they are forced to live in abysmal conditions and are threatened with retaliation against their families if they are ever caught trying to escape or attempting to contact the authorities (many women are also afraid of doing so since they see themselves as guilty of crimes of prostitution and illegal immigration).

The seemingly unthinkable practice of buying and selling human chattel has surfaced in virtually all countries of the world. From Malaysia to Mexico and Uganda to Ukraine, trafficking, especially in women and children, has become one of the 21st century's most pressing human rights concerns. UN Secretary General Kofi Annan asserts that trafficking in human beings has become the fastest growing form of international organized crime, earning trafficking networks an estimated \$7 billion a year. The US Congress also estimates that upwards of 700,000 people are trafficked across international borders every year. Many of them come from the post-Communist region. According to a European Council report, approximately 120,000 women and children from Eastern Europe alone are trafficked into the EU per year.

## **The Ramifications of Trafficking**

The crime of trafficking has only recently been defined under international law with the adoption on November 15, 2000 of a special Protocol to the United Nations' Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime. The Protocol defines trafficking as

the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or others forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.<sup>2</sup>



Trafficked persons are most often used for the purposes of prostitution, pornography, sweatshop or domestic labor, marriage, mercenary service, forced begging, forced stealing, and organ removal. The conditions that often facilitate trafficking in so-called "countries of origin" include extreme poverty, widespread gender discrimination, political unrest or transition, civil strife, and natural disaster. In the post-Communist countries, many of these factors are prevalent. The post-Communist region's proximity to Western Europe also makes it an attractive transit hub for traffickers. This proximity also creates an incentive for victims to fall into their hands, since many are lured by the prevalent image of the West as a place of bountiful economic opportunity. (Sometimes, trafficked women who have been repatriated are too frightened or ashamed to admit their experience, in this way helping to propagate the myth of "endless opportunities" in the West, in order to save themselves the embarrassment and/or retribution from male family members that would result from a full confession of their ordeal.)

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Many of the conditions that often facilitate trafficking in countries of origin are prevalent in the post-Communist countries.

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### Efforts to Combat Trafficking

Under the above-cited UN "Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children," signatories in a total of 81 states bound themselves to criminalizing all trafficking offenses, providing assistance and protection for victims, and, through mutual cooperation and information sharing, seeking to apprehend traffickers and bring them to justice.<sup>3</sup> Despite the promise held out by this agreement, however, the political institutions necessary to combat international trafficking still remain largely inchoate. Even in such relatively advanced countries as Greece (which is incidentally a major center of trafficking in Europe), there are currently no laws to deal specifically with this offense. In East European countries such as Albania, Belarus, Bosnia, Romania, Russia, and Yugoslavia, the problem is even worse.

In the US, the anti-trafficking movement only recently gained momentum when President Clinton signed the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act (VTVPA) in October 2000, which currently stands as one of the most progressive acts of anti-trafficking legislation in the world.<sup>4</sup> In addition to significantly strengthening criminal penalties against peonage, enticement to slavery, and the sale of people into involuntary servitude, the law also encourages the establishment of multilateral institutions to combat

international trafficking.<sup>5</sup> According to Section 102 of the Act,

The United States must work bilaterally and multilaterally to abolish the trafficking industry by taking steps to promote cooperation among countries linked together by international routes. The United States must also urge the international community to take strong action in multilateral fora to engage recalcitrant countries in serious and sustained efforts to eliminate trafficking and protect trafficking victims.<sup>6</sup>

Although there are some promising signs that such cooperation is beginning to develop, most experts believe that far more extensive collaboration is needed if the problem is to be seriously addressed.

To identify major centers of trafficking and encourage states to adopt more aggressive anti-trafficking policies, the VTVPA requires the Secretary of State to submit an annual report to Congress evaluating foreign countries' efforts to deter and punish trafficking. Countries that fail to meet the Report's "minimum standard" of deterrence are subject to the withholding of non-humanitarian, non-trade related US aid and risk facing US opposition to lending from international financial organizations like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.<sup>7</sup>

The publication of the first "Trafficking in Persons Report" in July 2001 brought immediate attention to the issue of trafficking both in the US and abroad. The Report explicitly stated that "it is not our intention to criticize or penalize countries' efforts to combat this scourge. Rather we hope that by highlighting the problem...reports in the near future will demonstrate improvements in efforts to combat trafficking in persons."<sup>8</sup> The Report then went on to classify countries according to their fulfillment of the "minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking," which were defined as follows:

- 1) The government should prohibit trafficking and punish acts of trafficking.
- 2) The government should prescribe punishment commensurate with that for grave crimes, such as forcible sexual assault, for the knowing commission of trafficking in some of the most reprehensible forms (trafficking in sexual purposes, trafficking involving rape or kidnapping, or trafficking that causes a death).
- 3) For knowing commission of any act of trafficking, the government should prescribe punishment that is sufficiently stringent to deter, and that adequately reflects the offense's heinous nature.
- 4) The government should make serious and sustained efforts to eliminate trafficking.<sup>9</sup>

### Trafficking and the Problem of a State Power

One problem with this approach, however, is that a "serious and sustained" effort to deter trafficking requires a high



level of infrastructural state power.<sup>10</sup> Thus, the VTVPA lists seven factors that are considered to be necessary indicia of a “serious and sustained” effort. They include:

- (1) whether the government vigorously investigates and prosecutes acts of trafficking within its territory;
- (2) whether the government protects victims of trafficking, encourages victims’ assistance in investigation and prosecution, provides victims with legal alternatives to their removal to countries where they would face retribution or hardship, and ensures that victims are not inappropriately penalized only for unlawful acts as a direct result of being trafficked;
- (3) whether the government has taken measures, such as public education, to prevent trafficking;
- (4) whether the government cooperates with other governments in investigating and prosecuting trafficking;
- (5) whether the government extradites persons charged with trafficking as it does with other serious crimes;
- (6) whether the government monitors immigration and emigration patterns for evidence of trafficking, and whether law enforcement agencies respond appropriately;
- and (7) whether the government vigorously investigates and prosecutes officials who participate in trafficking, and takes all appropriate measures against such officials who conduct trafficking.<sup>11</sup>

Clearly, to fulfil all of these criteria, states need to have a high degree of what sociologist Michael Mann has called “infrastructural” state power. What do we mean by this? Following Peter Katzenstein, we can distinguish three dimensions of state power: the *authority* states have to implement a given public policy; the *capacity* they have, in terms of resources and institutions, to carry out the policy; and their degree of bureaucratic *autonomy*, or the ability to execute the policy without internal obstruction.<sup>12</sup> In most post-Communist countries, however, state authority has been widely delegitimized as a result of authoritarian rule, state capacity has been severely eroded by a lack of resources, and bureaucratic autonomy is compromised through extensive corruption. Unfortunately, therefore, states in which trafficking is common typically lack the infrastructural power to combat the problem.

In a few extreme cases, like Moldova, Yugoslavia, Albania, Georgia, and several of the Central Asia republics, the state actually lacks control over a large part of its own territory. In rating foreign countries’ capacity to deal with trafficking, the State Department thus acknowledged that:

A problem was posed by several countries in which rebel groups engage in trafficking within territory that they [i.e., foreign states] control, for example, forcing children to become soldiers or laborers, or to provide sexual services to rebels. In these cases, the trafficking problem may be entirely beyond the government’s control, and the government may be unable to take many steps, along the lines of the Act’s “minimum standards,” to combat that problem.<sup>13</sup>

The problem, therefore, is not just that many states lack the resolve to stop trafficking—although this is a serious problem as well—but that they are fundamentally *unable* to do so.

The case of Kosovo is instructive. In Kosovo it was the ostensibly “democratic” Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA)—or at least certain elements within it—that was largely responsible for trafficking women into and out of the province after the Yugoslav army had been driven out of the province by the 1999 NATO bombing campaign. Local police officers and judges were, and often continue to be, linked through the KLA to traffickers, thus making appeals by trafficked women to local authorities completely ineffective. As a result, it makes little difference whether the current leadership in Pristina makes declarations to stop trafficking or not, because the most fundamental problem is that the “government” possesses few real instruments to combat the problem.

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The problem is not just that many states lack the resolve to stop trafficking, but that they are fundamentally *unable* to do so.

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Fortunately, international organizations and NGOs have begun taking steps to combat trafficking in states that lack the will or are powerless to do so. An important first step in Kosovo was taken by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), which drew up new legislation to make trafficking a criminal offense. Of course, in light of the widespread judicial and police corruption discussed above, it is not clear whether such legislation will be immediately effective. Innovative solutions to this problem have been proposed, however. One proposal, suggested by the head of the OSCE’s Presence in Albania, Geert-Hinrich Ahrens, is to make international aid conditional upon the implementation of criminal law requiring the forfeiture of assets. As he notes, “International donors could offer to give money in proportion to assets seized, which in turn could go to fund such national programmes as witness protection and/or victim rehabilitation programmes such as shelters.” Based on his own experience, Ahrens argues that “when funding appears to be threatened or international political pressure applied, things happen.”<sup>14</sup>

Perhaps an even more effective near-term solution to deterring trafficking in countries of origin would be to better inform and educate potential victims about the risks of being trafficked. Since most potential migrants, and particularly women and minors, lack sufficient information about the real conditions they would face in their country of destination, more accessible information could at least help



deter some individual from being duped by traffickers. One organization dedicated to educating women about the risks of trafficking is the Ukrainian NGO "La Strada," which targets its awareness campaigns at youth, at-risk women, social workers, teachers, journalists, and law-enforcement officers. Information campaigns are organized in the form of lectures, training sessions, round tables, leaflets, brochures, calendars, posters, and even a teacher's manual. La Strada also runs reintegration programs for repatriated victims of trafficking. Greater international support for local NGOs like La Strada would certainly have a significant impact on the fight against trafficking in countries like Ukraine, where government resources are currently stretched to the limit.<sup>15</sup>

### **The Role of Transit and Destination Countries in the Fight Against Trafficking**

Although the weakness of many post-Communist states' infrastructural power makes it difficult for these states to monitor and combat trafficking at its point of origin, legal and institutional solutions to deter trafficking and help victims are luckily more feasible in most countries of transit and destination. The adoption of new legislation to criminalize trafficking and bring offenders to justice has already made a significant difference in countries such as Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary, where the rule of law is at least somewhat more consolidated than in other parts of Eastern Europe. The adoption of witness protection programs in these three countries has already made it much easier for local police officials to infiltrate criminal networks (the Russian Duma is also currently debating the implementation of such a program). Greater transborder cooperation between these countries and their eastern and western neighbors could potentially help close down what is

Steps are also being taken to combat trafficking in most Western countries of destination. In many such countries—though certainly not all—a shift in perspective has taken place so that trafficking is no longer just considered as an immigration or prostitution problem, but first and foremost as a human rights problem. As most experts dealing with trafficking vigorously assert, it is to the advantage of all concerned sides if trafficked persons are treated as victims to be protected rather than as illegal immigrants or prostitutes to be punished and/or deported. The latter policy prevents victims from coming forward and seeking help and thus prevents the true criminals from being brought to justice. Reducing victims' fear of prosecution and deportation could go a long way to removing the shroud of secrecy surrounding the trafficking industry and, furthermore, is morally incumbent on states seeking to counter this horrific violation of human rights. As an OSCE report on trafficking concludes, "The perception that removing trafficked persons thereby removes 'the problem' is incorrect and often ends with the victim falling back into the hands of traffickers."<sup>16</sup>

The US's VTPA can serve as a model for assisting victims since it provides for access to shelters, counseling, and medical care, as well as a new nonimmigrant "T" visa leading to permanent residency for victims of "severe forms" of trafficking. Several European countries including Belgium, Italy, and the Netherlands have also adopted a temporary visa and/or work permit for victims. The NGO "Anti-Slavery International" has recommended that, on humanitarian grounds, all victims of trafficking should have access to appropriate shelter, financial assistance, legal assistance, information about their rights in a language they can understand, physical safety, counseling, information about employment opportunities, and access to health and psycho-social services.<sup>17</sup> Other NGOs have also suggested providing easier access to asylum for trafficked persons whose return to their country of origin would put them in danger (thus extending the principal of "non-refoulement" to victims of trafficking).

Combating trafficking also requires better information sharing and cooperation among various domestic agencies such as border guards, police, immigration agencies, and health and social service agencies. Once again, the US VTPA can serve as a model for other countries, mandating the establishment of an Interagency Task Force to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons. The Task Force, which is chaired by the Secretary of State, includes the Attorney General, the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, the Director of Central Intelligence, the Administrator of the United States Agency for International Development, and the Director of the Office of Management and the Budget.<sup>18</sup> In light of the many areas of domestic policy that are affected by human trafficking—human rights, immigration, labor, health (and especially HIV/AIDS

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### **Trafficking would not occur if there were no demand for it in destination countries.**

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currently one of the most active corridors of trafficking in the world. Also, since victims of trafficking are a potential source of information about the criminal networks that run such operations, greater cooperation in fighting human trafficking offers a significant payoff in the fight against organized crime more generally within this region.

Information sharing is particularly called for between law enforcement agencies from countries of origin, transit, and destination. Currently, EUROPOL and Interpol provide one such conduit of information, but clearly there is a need for greater collaboration. An EU decision to introduce a European-wide Search and Arrest Warrant is an important step in this direction, although extending this institution beyond current EU borders could have an even more significant effect.

continued on page 15



# A Window On the Lake: On and Around Stalin's *Belomorkanal*

Michael Kunichika

Michael Kunichika is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures. The following is his account of an expedition to the White-Baltic Sea Canal (Belomorkanal) organized in the Summer of 2001 by the human rights and historical research group, Memorial, in St. Petersburg.<sup>1</sup>

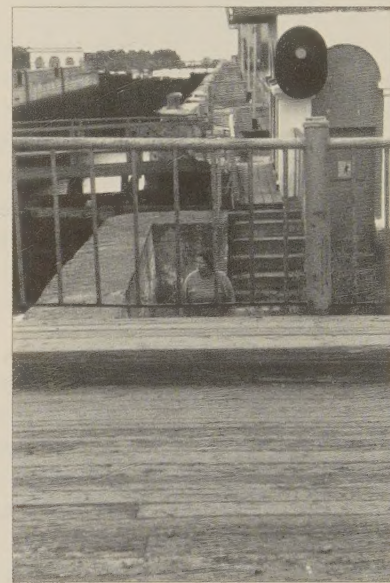
*Someone in civilian clothing approached me with watchful eyes. So I played the simpleton: Where could I get some fish? Yes, and how could I leave via the canal? He turned out to be the chief of the locks guard. Why, I asked him, wasn't there any passenger traffic? Well—he acted astonished—how could we? After all, the Americans would rush right over to see it. Well...what if they did come to see it?*

Alexander Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago*<sup>2</sup>

recognizably infamous, but instead from the unexpected vision of a veritable pastoral within a scene of immense natural beauty that lay before us.

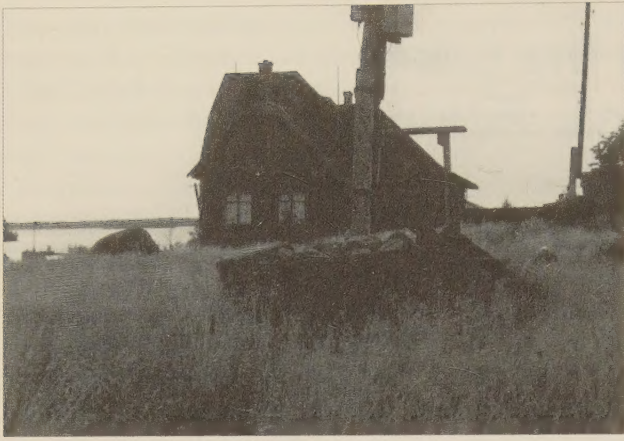


At the outset of the expedition, much of our time was spent waiting: first for a ride from Medvezhegorsk to the outskirts of the town Povenets, and later for some boat to arrive at some impromptu hour, steered by a captain with whom we could negotiate a ride to ferry us from the second to the ninth lock of the *Belomorkanal*. From there, we would later head into the surrounding forests and marshes, tracing after the crumbling and eroding barracks of the former *Belbaltlag*—the abbreviated term of the White-Baltic Sea camp, *Belomorsko-baltiskii ispravitel'no-trudovoi lager*—where prisoners laboring on the canal were housed. Yet whether we were sitting at the locks or on decks of barges hauling timber, the startling quality of the *Belomorkanal* arose not from anything



These days the canal provides a kind of lifeline, servicing and providing jobs for the small villages that had grown up around each lock. It seemed that life went on there within an Arcadia of an untroubled world—there are fish caught and sold, cows in the fields provide fresh milk to be kept cold in cellars, and strawberries available during the summer: all fine delicacies for a group like our own on the way in and out of the forest. And the views as we traveled along the canal, or the sights from within the small villages, or even the places in which we set camp in the forests were often thoroughly idyllic.





On a “fine serene June day” in 1966, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, nearing the completion of *The Gulag Archipelago*, visited the canal and marveled at the site that met him. “But why was everything so quiet?” he asked and, with a bit of rhetorical flourish, added, “Why are you silent, Great Canal?”<sup>3</sup> The same might be noted of the July days when our expedition began—the boats, barges, trawlers, and even yachts making their way into the White Sea or down towards Lake Onega pass through the nineteen locks of the canal’s 227 kilometers often eight hours apart, moving slowly from lock to lock. With little frequency, the canal is still in use—and on our first day, the relative quiet and silence of the place alternated with the din of the newest Russian pop song spilling over from the large tour boat docked nearby.

Even while attempting to perceive its history in signs visible to the senses, a full reckoning with the infamy of the *Belomorkanal* was impeded by the modes of concealment, intended or otherwise, that had characterized the canal from the start of construction. Part of Solzhenitsyn’s question as to why everything was so quiet at the canal was due to his sense of how starkly incommensurate the final state of the canal was with all the enormous toll he knew its construction had taken: “So what was it needed for anyway,” he asks and then answers, “Oh, yes, there was a military necessity; in order to be able to shift the fleet.”<sup>4</sup>

Military necessities and the shifting of fleets were just part of the multiple rationales to build a northern waterway. An idea not new to the Soviets, it had been considered at various points throughout Russian history. But it was the decade-old Soviet state that would not just propose the idea for the canal, but also launch its construction. As the propaganda of the canal would later have it, the canal wasn’t just construction, but war. And in this bellicose narrative, the Karelian wilds were taken as the enemy: the building of the canal was to be a “*borba s kamnem, bolotom, rekoï*” (a struggle with stone, marsh, rivers) or a “*boi protiv kamennogo uporstva prirody*” (a battle against the stony stubbornness of nature).<sup>5</sup> As Simon Schama reminds us in his *Landscape and Memory*, “Landscapes are culture before they are nature; constructs of the imagination

projected onto wood, water, rock.”<sup>6</sup> At the canal it was fervently so, nature was to yield to the concept of a northern waterway, and thereby turned into a landscape signaling the achievements of Soviet culture. Where the idea of a canal may have been *projected* even before the Soviets, *construction* was begun in the harsh winter months of 1931 and realized at a rapid and brutal pace over the course of twenty months.

In 1933, touring the canal became part of its story. In August of that year, members of the so-called “writers-brigade” (including several luminaries of Soviet letters) came to the canal gathering materials for what would become the principal source for propaganda about the canal. With respect to the human cost, where the index of barbarity is really measured, the insidious logic of the canal is conveyed by this image from their work, the *Belomorsko-Baltiskii kanal imeni Stalina: Istoriia stroitel'stva* (The Stalin White-Baltic Sea Canal: History of Construction) published in 1934 under the editorship of Maxim Gorky:<sup>7</sup>



Изменяя природу, человек изменяет самого себя

(К. Маркс)

“Changing nature,” the caption reads, “man changes himself.” Coming under the sign of the *perekovka* (*reforging*)—that infamous term advanced throughout the pages of the *History*—all levels of the project, from the manipulation of nature to the reforging of man could thereby be drawn into one totalizing narrative, with its logic amounting to: changing nature is to change the self; changing the enemy is to change the nature of the country. It was to the *perekovka* of nature that was added the pernicious analogy of men and women as objects equally available for reconstruction: rehabilitation through labor. The human rights group Memorial estimates that the number of inmates made available for *reforging* in 1931 was 64,100; the following year, the number reached 99,095; and in 1933, when the



canal was completed, 84,504 inmates were there. The number of inmates kept at the *Belbaltlag* until June of 1941, the year the camp officially closed, was 67,928.

In his *Writing of Disaster*, Maurice Blanchot has soberly remarked that labor conceived according to a logic like the *perekovka* ceases “to be a way of living and become[s] a way of dying.”<sup>8</sup> While there remains some doubt as to the number who actually died working on the canal, with estimates now at 50,000 people, there is no doubt concerning the conditions of extreme privation that workers endured while building it. And it is sometimes only a short walk away from the villages to where the ruins of such privation become evident, where one can find some of the barracks of the *Belbaltlag* inaccessible in all their remaining reality to the view from boats travelling along the canal.



\* \* \*

### The *Belbaltlag*

One can head along the road that links several villages on both sides of the canal, and there are “barracks,” though they can hardly be called even that since they belong to that makeshift architecture of pure survival: they remain as pits in the ground, which prisoners, it was reported, would dig for themselves since at the beginning of canal construction there were no preexisting structures to protect them from the Karelian winter, much less to house them. The pits themselves were fairly nondescript, ascertainable only by their somewhat geometric patterns, or by the side-boarding that can be unearthed at the pit’s edge, or simply by the fact that there could be ten or so similar pits in close proximity to one another.

We traveled far from the canal to trace down other remnants of the *Belbaltlag* scattered throughout the area’s surrounding forests. Nearly seventy years after the camp officially closed, we arrived with a map outlining our course to approximately nine camp sites. The path from one site to another could come in the form of a simple trail—still used by fisherman and foresters living there (who also use some of the barracks that have remained standing for their own lodging) or in the form of *letiazhki*, felled logs that were turned into makeshift roads for the pulling of carts. And all of these various sites required hiking through various types of terrain: marshes, hillsides, over still creeks, and rivers. Our crossings were made mainly by mornings or evenings, as the sun at that latitude extends the white nights far into mid-July.



The barracks are all in various states of ruin, their buckling walls almost on the verge of total collapse. Though generally, the better the building, the more mortar left on its walls, the more likely that the building was administrative rather than penal. Much of our time was spent cataloguing each of the barracks, charting out the layouts of each camp site, and attempting to figure out their function in camp life. In all, we measured and charted around fifty of them. And there were other objects lying around each barrack: the irons of doors, soles of shoes, even a caboose standing in the middle of a field that may have been used, it was later suggested, to provide electricity generation since there were no tracks visible anywhere. There were few barracks, however, so pronounced in their

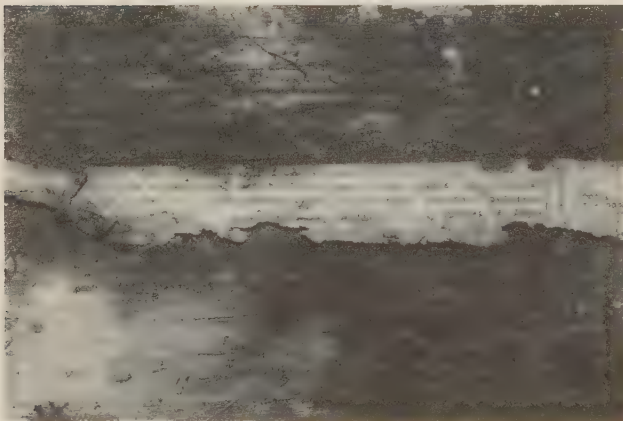


association with the actual incarcerating function of the *Belbaltlag* and few more wretched than this:



The prison cells were in a group of fifteen other barracks. They were certainly small rooms, with six visible in this photo: small cells, with open grates covering the windows, with holes for surveillance or to pass food through.

\* \* \*



Among all the various remnants of the place, print held a particular attraction. A scrap of weathered historical artifact lining the windows of larger artifacts, both susceptible to the slow absorbing process of the natural world. Quite likely, the newspapers lining the inside of windows were taken from *Perekovka*, the camp newspaper published at the canal, and belonging to what one scholar has called “*lagernyi byt*” (the everyday aspects of camp life): those

various accoutrements of “cultural” programs that attended the construction of camp construction—a museum, a theater, even a symphonic orchestra—all charged with the “task to reeducate the incarcerated of the *Belbaltlag* into loyal Soviet citizens.” This photo is of one such scrap of newspaper providing the famous slogan of Engels and Marx, “Proletarians of All Countries Unite.” There are likely few examples starker in their irony of Walter Benjamin’s oft-quoted line: “There is no document of civilization which is not at the same time a document of barbarism.”<sup>9</sup>

\* \* \*



Of the multiple places we had investigated, there was only this that actually provided some personalization of the experience. This bench with various names—Zhuk, Dimidiuk, Laptev, Nashatyrev, Liloeh, Litvinov, Makovskii—virtually calling out for a restoration of history. Someone who understands the protocols of camp life might be able to provide some information as to who got boxes: what was their use, how did this barrack function within the thirteen or so other barracks around it. Coming across a place like this serves at once to personalize (and perhaps, humanize) the desolate anonymity of these places, but is also reiterates a common moment within the expedition when our own processes of record keeping reveals its limitations. A name still indexes someone’s history, but who they were, what their function was in camp life is forestalled until a search can be conducted through a different historical storehouse where texts are no longer as susceptible to the slow erosion as we found them here.

\* \* \*



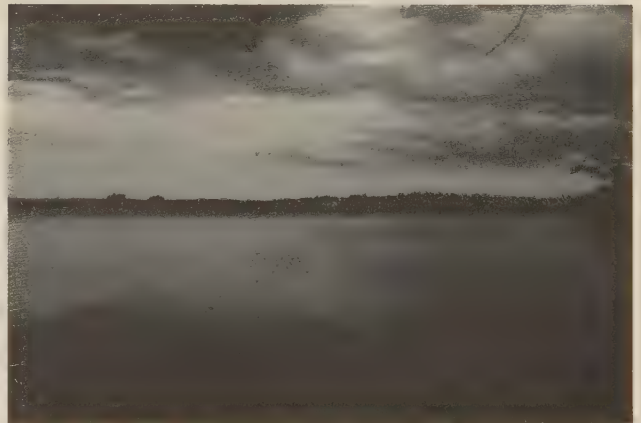


Not far from this last barrack, we came upon this place as we had many others, another barrack perhaps, though judging by the quality of construction it seemed more likely an administrative building. Of the windows still standing, one looks out onto a lake, the other onto a meadow. It was there that what I found so odd in sensing the unexpectedly beautiful in the environs of these places would be met and compounded by the somewhat obvious realization of a window's primary function: this affords a view, a frame from the inside to allow the possibilities of gazing out onto the natural world. Such a window and its significance is perhaps not unique. In another passage from *Arkhipelag Gulag*, Solzhenitsyn writes that on Solovki, a monastery turned into one of the most infamous camps in the history of the Gulag: "The free persons, too, had begun to enter into the sweetness of camp life and to taste its joys: Free families received the right to have the free services of cooks from the camp. Eichmans built himself an arctic villa."<sup>10</sup>

Here, then, at this window in the *Belbaltlag*, was a more troubling instance of the vision of nature that one sees continued along the canal. Surely other windows were meant for monitoring, others for the pragmatic necessity of just letting some light in, and still others were barred by the steel grates we often found lying around that were meant to incarcerate rather than protect from insects and the cold. And it was here that the seam between the idyllic and the atrocious had become striking, if mute in its instantiation—

immediately evocative of the questions: whose view was this? Who gazed onto the lake in the midst of this campsite? In another setting, this could be a pastoral *dacha*, an idyllic lodge, even a Pioneer camp, and not bound as it really is within the structure of the *Belbaltlag*.

The motto "*Et in Arcadia ego*" is frequently found as the subject of pastoral painting and was made famous in Nicolas Poussin's eponymous work. Its significance has often hinged on determining the speaker of "And I, too, was in Arcady." As a version by Guernico ca. 1618 unequivocally asserted, it is death that is present in Arcadia, where the line would read, "Even in Arcady, I, Death, am present." What this window in the gulag made strikingly clear is not the assertion that death was present—for one knew to expect it—but rather that something akin to the landscape of Arcadia could have been there at all and could have been framed as such. We perhaps cannot know who, then, beheld the beautiful as it once seems to have been, but while I was there, it was fleetingly seen again with all the troubling freight of that perception.



\* \* \*

The peculiarity of perceiving "the Beautiful" in landscapes marked by their historical gravity became clearer only after returning from the expedition. Recounting a trip through post-Communist Poland, Simon Schama has written that the country is full of "raw, chafing histories torn from decades of official silence yet still imperfectly recovered." Visiting a mound at Giby in the northeastern corner of Poland where a cross now commemorates the murder of hundreds by the NKVD, Schama writes: "But the real *shock* waited at the top of the mound. For beyond the cross the ground fell sharply away to reveal a landscape of *unanticipated* beauty."<sup>11</sup> *Shock* comes from the unanticipated presence of beauty in landscapes that have continued, with all the inexorability of nature, to absorb and erode the works of man.

One might say, in this context, that erosion and forgetting are the commensurate features of the natural world and man; and it is against those pressures that



landscape and memory find their imperatives. I should like to close with two photos, the first from *Sandormokh* where Memorial discovered a mass grave of approximately 1,100 people, after nearly six years of research through forests and archives; and of a photo taken during the expedition of another barrack situated on the verge of utter erosion.



Where one understands the first intervention into *Sandormokh* as an atrocious act destined for oblivion, the commensurate act of Memorial is another necessary intervention into this land—the discovery and establishment precisely as landscape, as a *lieu de memoire*—where this setting realizes its somber potential. This second photo points to where erosion in the natural world so fully corresponds with forgetting, marking the meeting place between the two. If we can understand landscape as “culture before they are nature,” here then is a landscape on the verge of being forgotten into nature.



Whereas the *perekovka* marks man’s intervention into the natural world, it is here, perhaps, that we find the full reversal of the *perekovka*: not man’s battle with nature, but nature reclaiming itself. This speaks as well, in part, to what one finds so stark in the discomfiture provoked by the return of the pastoral and of natural beauty, for we are accustomed to believe such categories to be outside the scale of modern human time: one designates spaces resistant to the changes of the modern world, rather than

serving as an index of time passing; or an aesthetic category some see as so denigrated and compromised that the mere remnant of its presence, the very possibility of its existence within the site of the atrocious might threaten the very notion of what atrocity means. How do we hold them together in our conception of this place, when we know not just a site’s history, but also know that for some, beauty was a thing to behold while they marshaled the incarcerated to their deaths?

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise indicated, all photos are the author’s.

<sup>2</sup> Alexandr Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago*, trans. Thomas P. Whitney, Vol. II (New York: Harper Perennial, 1992), p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> Solzhenitsyn, 100–101.

<sup>4</sup> Solzhenitsyn, 101–102.

<sup>5</sup> Figures are available through <http://www.memo.ru/> on both the *Belbaltlag* and other sites of the Gulag.

<sup>6</sup> Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Vintage, 1991), p 61.

<sup>7</sup> *Belomorsko-Baltiskii kanal imeni Stalina: Istoriia stroitel'stva* (Moscow: Istoriia fabriki i zavodov, 1934).

<sup>8</sup> Maurice Blanchot, *The Writing of Disaster*, trans. Ann Smock (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986), p. 81.

<sup>9</sup> Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations* (New York: Schochen, 1968), p. 256.

<sup>10</sup> Solzhenitsyn, 53.

<sup>11</sup> Schama, 25; italics mine.



## Modern Slave Trade, continued from page 8

policy)—greater interagency coordination is imperative if this multifaceted problem is to be successfully tackled.

To conclude, solutions to the problem of trafficking rest on three critical pillars. First, greater international cooperation is needed between source, transit, and destination countries to criminalize, apprehend, and prosecute traffickers while helping victims recover from their trauma and reintegrate into society. Second, more cooperation is needed between local and international NGOs, national police, prosecutors, customs and immigration officers, health and human services officials, and international organizations. Since local NGOs often know the situation on the ground best and are usually best prepared to help victims, targeting aid to such organizations could make a big difference. Third, more intensive efforts to eradicate the problem by addressing its root causes, like poverty, severe inequality and discrimination, and culturally-sanctioned violence against women would help reduce the risks for potential victims in the future. The last of these pillars would involve greater efforts to combat poverty through education and training programs in source countries, micro-lending to NGOs and other organizations helping victims to reintegrate into society, and gender-sensitive training for local police, prosecutors, and social workers.

Lastly, trafficking would not occur if there were no demand for it in destination countries. Information campaigns about this horrible practice in such countries could at least help partially reduce the demand for trafficking by creating public awareness of how its victims are abused.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Michael Slackman, "Sold for His Organs: Kin Auctioned Off Russian Boy, Cops Say," *Newsday* (November 5, 2000).

<sup>2</sup> See "Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children," UN Doc. A/55/383 [2000]. The text is available at <http://www.odcp.org/palermo/convmain.html>.

<sup>3</sup> Other significant international agreements to combat trafficking include the International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention 182 concerning the "Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labor" and the "Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography."

<sup>4</sup> See "Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000." Public Law 106-386, 101-113, 114 Stat. 1464, 1466-91 (October 28, 2000). Future references will simply mention

"VTVPA" or simply the "Act." The full text is available at <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/10494.pdf>.

<sup>5</sup> On the US domestic front, investigation and prosecution of trafficking has been considerably stepped up since the VTVPA was signed in October 2000. The Department of Justice noted a 50% increase in trafficking investigations in 2002 and a four-fold increase in prosecution of such crimes in 2001. These data are cited from: "A Cargo of Exploitable Souls: Human Trafficking," *The Economist* (June 1, 2002).

<sup>6</sup> 22 USC 7101, Sec. 102(b) (24).

<sup>7</sup> 22 USC 7101, Sec. 110.

<sup>8</sup> State Department, "Trafficking in Persons Report," July 2001, p. 9. The Report is available at <http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2001>.

<sup>9</sup> State Department, "Trafficking in Persons Report," July 2001, p. 5.

<sup>10</sup> The concept of infrastructural state power is discussed at length in Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

<sup>11</sup> 22 USC 7106, Sec. 108(b).

<sup>12</sup> See Peter J. Katzenstein, *Between Power and Plenty: Foreign Economic Policies of Advanced Industrial States* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978).

<sup>13</sup> US State Department, "Trafficking in Persons Report," July 2001, p. 7.

<sup>14</sup> Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, "Europe Against Trafficking Persons: Conference Report," October 15–16, 2001, p. 47. The text of the report can be found at [http://www.osce.org/odihr/documents/trafficking/berlin\\_confreport.php3](http://www.osce.org/odihr/documents/trafficking/berlin_confreport.php3).

<sup>15</sup> Information on La Strada can be found at <http://brama.com/lastrada/>.

<sup>16</sup> Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, "Europe Against Trafficking Persons: Conference Report," October 15–16, 2001, p. 29.

<sup>17</sup> See remarks made by Mike Dottridge in the OSCE's "Europe Against Trafficking Persons: Conference Report," October 15–16, 2001, p. 33.

<sup>18</sup> Executive Order 13257, "President's Interagency Task Force to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons," signed by President George W. Bush on February 13, 2002.



# Campus Visitors

**Nigora Bozorova** is visiting the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures in spring 2003, working with Professor Johanna Nichols on Uzbek language instruction. She is a Ph.D. candidate in linguistics at Tashkent State University.

**Volodymyr Chumak** is a visiting Fulbright scholar at ISEES this academic year. Dr. Chumak comes to Berkeley from the National Institute for Strategic Studies in Kiev, where he is head of the Foreign Policy Strategy Department, to conduct research on US foreign policy on the former Soviet Union.

**Roumen Daskalov** is teaching a course on "South-East Europe in the Modern Epoch" as a visiting professor with the Department of History this spring. Professor Daskalov is an associate professor of history at the University of Sofia, Bulgaria and at the Central European University in Budapest.

**Izabela Filipiak** will be a visiting scholar with the Beatrice Bain Research Group and ISEES this spring. She will be a Kosciuszko Fellow, conducting research for her doctoral thesis on "Maria Komornicka and the Construct of the Other."

**Andreas Johns** is a visiting lecturer with the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures this year, teaching a course on twentieth-century Russian literature in the spring. Andreas received his Ph.D. from the Slavic department here at Berkeley in 1996.

**Andrew Kahn** is a visiting professor this spring, teaching a graduate seminar on Alexander Pushkin in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures and an undergraduate seminar on Russian travel literature in the Department of Comparative Literature. Professor Kahn is a fellow and tutor in Russian at St. Edmund Hall, University of Oxford.

**Md. Maimul Ahsan Khan** is teaching a course on Islamic law at the Boalt School of Law this spring. Dr. Khan earned a Ph.D. in law at Tashkent State University and most recently was a visiting professor with the University of Illinois' College of Law.

**Natalya Khan**, lecturer in history at Tashkent State Institute of Oriental Studies, returns as a visiting scholar this spring through International and Area Studies. She is conducting research under the Faculty Development Fellowship Program sponsored by USIA and the Open Society Institute, Soros Foundations.

**Shorena Kurtsikidze** is teaching Georgian in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures with Professor Johanna Nichols this year. Shorena holds a Ph.D. in cultural anthropology from the Academy of Sciences of Georgia.

**Vitaly Naumkin**, president of the International Center for Strategic and Political Studies, St. Petersburg, is a visiting professor with the Department of Political Science in spring 2003. He is teaching a course entitled "Islam and Politics in Soviet Successor States."

**Rima Praspaliauskiene**, research fellow at the Lithuanian Institute of History, is visiting the Beatrice Bain Research Group on Women and Gender this year. She is conducting research on women's activism in Lithuania in 1945-1992.

**Sylvia Sasse**, lecturer at Zentrum für Literaturforschung in Berlin, will be visiting the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures for two semesters, beginning in spring 2003. Her research project focuses on "Images of Collectivity in Russian Literature and Art."

**Inger Skjelsbaek** is a visiting scholar at ISEES this academic year. She is conducting research for her dissertation with the Institute for Peace Research in Oslo (PRIO).

**Zoia Solovieva** will be a visiting scholar at ISEES this spring. She will be researching homelessness in Russia on a fellowship funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York through the National Council for Eurasian and East European Research.



## Book Review

# *Historical Atlas of Central Europe*

Christine Kulke

Paul Robert Magosci, *Historical Atlas of Central Europe*, revised and expanded edition. History of East Central Europe series, Volume 1. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002.

Putting sixteen hundred years of Central European history into sixty-one maps is a risky business. The region's frequently shifting political boundaries are difficult to represent on paper, let alone keep track of. Moreover, each decision as to how to label one of the many places known by multiple names—Polish Wroclaw / German Breslau, for instance—is bound to raise the ire of at least a few readers whose name of choice has not made the cut. Even the basic question of delineating and naming “Central Europe” is problematic.

In fact, the word “east” was dropped from the title of Paul Robert Magosci's revised and beautifully drawn reference work, which first appeared in 1993 as the *Historical Atlas of East Central Europe* and now reappears and simply the *Historical Atlas of Central Europe*. One reason for the change, Magosci writes, was that “the articulate elements in many countries of this region consider eastern or even east-central to carry a negative connotation” (xiii). The other motive for the title change was geographical precision, since the area covered by the atlas is quite literally the central third of the European continent (if the Ural Mountains are taken as the continent's eastern boundary). In present-day terms, this area includes Lithuania, Belarus, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Austria, Hungary, Romania, Moldova, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Yugoslavia, Macedonia, Albania, Bulgaria, and Greece. In addition, to the west, it includes parts of Germany and Italy and, to the east, parts of Ukraine and Turkey. Magosci takes probably the most logical and consistent approach to the naming problem, but even this, he admits, occasionally produces strange results. He uses historic names for clearly defined administrative subdivisions, while he names towns and cities according to the official language of the present-day country in which they are located. So, for example, a map of the Baltic region in the nineteenth century will place the city of “Vilnius” in the imperial Russian province of “Vilna.”

The atlas consists of sixty-one chapters, each of which includes a full-page map (or sometimes two or three closely related, similar maps) and an explanatory text. Several

chapters also include statistics concerning changes in the “ethnolinguistic-national composition” of specific countries over the course of the twentieth century. These tables typically show sets of data gathered more than fifty years apart: population statistics from Bulgaria in 1926 are juxtaposed with those from 1985, for instance. Such tables allow the author to emphasize one of his major themes, namely, the unprecedented demographic changes in Central Europe during and immediately after World War II. Magosci writes that as a result of the Holocaust and monumental population movements, some state-organized and some not, a “staggering total” of 62.4 million people in Central Europe were either deliberately killed or displaced in the decade following the outbreak of war in 1939 (189). Postwar governments blamed the instability of the interwar years on the incongruity of political and ethnolinguistic boundaries, and by the time they were done trying to fix this problem, ten Central European countries contained over ninety percent of the population of their respective titular nationalities (197). One might argue with Magosci's exact figures; his sources on population movements are not referenced as well as his census data, and censuses, as he himself states, are especially problematic when it comes to defining ethnicity. But his full-color maps, complete with numbers, circles, and arrows representing the movement of specific peoples, dramatically illustrate his point, which only recently has received significant scholarly attention.

The twentieth century does not arrive until the second half of the book, however. The first half places the reader in Central Europe with a fundamental map of geographic zones and proceeds with maps and a narrative beginning ca. 400, as the western Roman Empire gives way to various new conquerors and settlers. Continuing more or less chronologically through the centuries, the maps, being maps, tend to show changes in political and administrative boundaries, while also tracking the military campaigns that often brought about these changes. The accompanying text focuses on the rise and fall of political powers. Midway through the fifteenth century, however, Magosci pauses to discuss economic patterns, the medieval city, and ecclesiastical jurisdictions. Here, too, are fascinating maps of trade routes and raw materials, city plans and expansion, the development of German law cities, and the spread of Byzantine Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism, to be followed by Reformation and Counter Reformation. A similar pause in the political narrative occurs slightly later on to



discuss educational and cultural institutions and trends. These themes—economic, religious, and educational/cultural, as well as the demographic theme discussed above—carry on throughout the atlas and provide some counterweight to its emphasis on political (and military) developments.

The narrative necessarily moves from the fifth to the twenty-first centuries at a dizzying pace, but it always remains smooth, clear, and accessible. Readers will be disappointed, however, that the author views Ottoman culture from the perspective of the Europeans, whose “ideological and technological changes,” he writes, the Ottomans “actively opposed” (54). A certain bias also shows through on a few twentieth-century issues; for example, Magosci’s decision to map universities along with Soviet prisons and camps—the theme being “education and re-education”—comes rather unexpectedly. And finally, given the recent and quite public debates (especially in Poland) about local collaboration with the Nazis, Magosci did not need to take such pains to sidestep this thorny issue in his own discussion of the Holocaust.

Inevitable shortcomings aside, it is a remarkable achievement for a single scholar to masterfully narrate and map so many centuries in such a complex region. This reference book, which is part of the multivolume History of East Central Europe published by the University of Washington Press, certainly achieves the series’ goal of reaching a non-specialist audience. But specialists are by no means excluded. The twentieth-century specialist most likely will turn to earlier sections for reference, and the reverse will hold for the medievalist and early modernist. Moreover, the abundant, colorfully inviting, and impressively detailed maps alone make the atlas well worth a look.

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*Christine Kulke is a Ph.D. candidate in the history department. She is researching the relationship between people and place in the multiethnic city of L’viv/Lwow/L’vov/Lemberg under the Nazi and Soviet regimes.*

## Upcoming Events

Events are subject to change; for current information on ISEES-sponsored events, please call (510) 642-3230. When no one is available to take your call, you may listen to a recorded message that lists our upcoming events.

**Monday, March 3, 2003.** *Colloquium:* Galin Tihanov, Lecturer, Department of European Studies, University of Lancaster, United Kingdom, will speak on “Hermeneutics and Sociology Between Germany and Russia: Gadamer, Hans Freyer, and the Theory of the Novel.” In 219 Dwinelle Hall, 4 p.m. Sponsored by the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures and ISEES. Contact: the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, (510) 642-2979.

**Wednesday-Saturday, March 5-8, 2003.** *Performance:* The San Francisco Symphony, Michael Tilson Thomas conducting, will perform works by Prokofiev, featuring Mikhael Pletnev, piano. At Davies Symphony Hall, San Francisco, 8 p.m. each date. Tickets may be purchased at the SFS Box Office, (415) 864-6000. Contact: SF Symphony, <http://www.sfsymphony.org/> or (415) 552-8000.

**Thursday, March 6, 2003.** *Film Screening:* *Dziga and His Brothers*, a Russian documentary film about the lives of three brothers. At Yerba Buena Center for the Arts, San Francisco, 7:30 p.m. Fees: \$7 general. Contact: SF Cinematique, (415) 552-1990 or <http://www.sfcinematique.org/>.

**Friday, March 7, 2003.** *Annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference:* “The Power of Ideas and Ideas of Power in Eastern Europe and Eurasia.” In the Lipman Room, Barrows Hall, UC Berkeley campus; 9:45 a.m.–12 noon, 1 p.m.–5:30 p.m. Sponsored by ISEES and the Center for Russian, East European, and Eurasian Studies at Stanford University.

**March 8-May 18, 2003.** *Exhibition:* “Leonardo da Vinci and The Splendor of Poland,” featuring artworks by Old Masters from the great museums of Poland, including work by Polish artists. At the Legion of Honor, 100 34th Ave, San Francisco; 9:30 a.m.–5 p.m. Fees: \$12 general (reflects \$4 surcharge to museum admission), \$10 seniors, \$9 ages 12–17, \$4 ages 5–11, under 5 free. Advance tickets may be purchased at the museum or at [Tickets.com](http://Tickets.com), (415) 478-2277. Contact: Legion of Honor, (415) 863-3330 or <http://www.thinker.org/legion/exhibitions/>.

**Wednesday, March 12, 2003.** *Brown Bag Talk:* Gyorgy Vlasenko, independent Russian film director and poet, will speak on “Wars in the Caucasus: Between Myth and Massacre 1817–2003.” In 270 Stephens Hall, 12 noon. Sponsored by ISEES and CSEES with funding through the US Department of Education under Title VI.

**Friday-Saturday, March 14-15, 2003.** *Annual CCAsP Conference:* “Rocks and Hard Places: Society and the Environment In Central Asia.” In the Lipman Room, Barrows



Hall; a schedule will be announced. Sponsored by ISEES and CCAsP.

**Monday, March 17, 2003.** *Colloquium:* Ronald Kim, Postdoctoral Fellow, Department of Linguistics, Cornell University, will speak on "The Value of Slavic for the Reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European Verbal Accentuation." In 219 Dwinelle Hall, 4 p.m. Sponsored by the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, the Department of Linguistics, the Indo-European Language and Culture Working Group, and ISEES. Contact: the Slavic Department, (510) 642-2979.

**Tuesday, March 18, 2003.** *Third Annual Peter N. Kujachich Lecture in Serbian and Montenegrin Studies:* Audrey Helfant Budding, Lecturer on Social Studies, Harvard College, Harvard University, will speak on "Explaining Nationalism: The Serbian Case." In the Heyns Room, Faculty Club, 4 p.m. Sponsored by ISEES.

**Friday, March 21, 2003.** *Noon Concert: Stravinsky: A Soldier's Tale*, will be performed by UC Berkeley students. Doors open at 11:55. Children under five are not allowed. At Hertz Hall, 12:15–1 p.m. Fees: free. Contact: Department of Music, (510) 642-4864 or <http://music.berkeley.edu/>.

**Saturday, March 22, 2003.** *Concert:* Lilit Pipoyan, Armenian singer. At the Yerba Buena Center for the Arts, San Francisco, 8 p.m. Fees: \$50 & \$30. Sponsored by the Armenian Cultural Association Hamazkayin. Contact: Yerba Buena Center for the Arts, (415) 978-2787 or <http://www.yerbabuenaarts.org/>.

**Thursday-Saturday, March 27-29, 2003.** *Performance:* The Stuttgart Ballet, will perform *Romeo and Juliet*, with music by Prokofiev. At Zellerbach Hall, UC Berkeley, 8 p.m. each date. Fees: \$36/46/56. Contact: Cal Performances, <http://www.calperfs.berkeley.edu/> or (510) 642-9988.

**Monday, March 31, 2003.** *Colloquium:* Kate Baldwin, Assistant Professor, Department of English, University of Notre Dame, will speak on "Between Two Veils: Langston Hughes's Essays on Uzbek Women." In 219 Dwinelle Hall, 4 p.m. Sponsored by the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures and ISEES. Contact: the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, (510) 642-2979.

**Saturday, April 5, 2003.** *Performance:* Yuri Bashmet and the Moscow Soloists will perform work by Tchaikovsky, among others. At Hertz Hall, UC Berkeley, 8 p.m. Fees: \$48. Contact: Cal Performances, <http://www.calperfs.berkeley.edu/> or (510) 642-9988.

**Monday, April 7, 2003.** *Colloquium:* Andrew Kahn, Fellow and Tutor in Russian, St. Edmund Hall, University of Oxford, will speak on "The Iron Age in Golden Age Poetry and Thought: Baratynsky's Cultural Critique." In 219

Dwinelle Hall, 4 p.m. Sponsored by the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures and ISEES. Contact: the Slavic Department, (510) 642-2979.

**Wednesday, April 16, 2003.** *Brown Bag Talk:* Bryan Hanks, Department of Archaeology, University of Sheffield, will speak on "Fractured Realities: Zooarchaeological Modeling and the Socio-Economic Complexity of Eurasian Steppe Pastoral Nomads." At the Archaeological Research Facility, 2547 Channing Way, 12 noon. Sponsored by ISEES, the Indo-European Language and Culture Working Group, ARF, the Central Asia/Silk Road Working Group, and the Center for Eurasian Studies.

**Saturday, April 19, 2003.** *Performance:* The San Francisco Symphony, Outwater conducting, will perform Tchaikovsky's *Symphony No. 5*. At Flint Center, Cupertino, 8 p.m. Tickets may be purchased at the SFS Box Office, (415) 864-6000. Contact: SF Symphony, <http://www.sfsymphony.org/> or (415) 552-8000.

**Monday, April 21, 2003.** *Colloquium:* Lada Panova, Researcher, Institute of Russian Language, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, will speak on "*Aleksandriiskaia poetika Kuzmina*." This talk will be in Russian without translation. In 219 Dwinelle Hall, 4 p.m. Sponsored by the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures and ISEES. Contact: the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, (510) 642-2979.

**Friday, April 25, 2003.** *Noon Concert:* Bartok's *String Quartet No. 1*, will be performed by UC Berkeley students. Doors open at 11:55. Children under five are not allowed. At Hertz Hall, 12:15–1 p.m. Fees: free. Contact: Department of Music, (510) 642-4864 or <http://music.berkeley.edu/>.

**Saturday–Sunday, April 26–27, 2003.** *Annual Teacher Outreach Conference:* "The Muslim World in Eastern Europe and Eurasia." See page 21.

**Wednesday-Friday, April 30–May 2, 2003.** *Performance:* San Francisco Symphony, Michael Tilson Thomas conducting, will perform Stravinsky's *Violin Concerto in D major*, featuring Hilary Hahn, violin. At Davies Symphony Hall, San Francisco, times vary. Tickets may be purchased at the SFS Box Office, (415) 864-6000. Contact: SF Symphony, <http://www.sfsymphony.org/> or (415) 552-8000.

**Sunday, May 25, 2003.** *Performance:* Russian Chamber Orchestra, will perform music by Rachmaninoff. At St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, Belvedere, 5 p.m. Fees: \$20 general, \$17 ages 21 and under/ages 55 and over, ages 12 and under free. Tickets may be purchased in advance at (415) 927-1446 or at the door. Contact: Russian Chamber Orchestra Society, <http://www.russianchamberorch.org/> or (415) 927-1446.



# Outreach Programs

## *Introducing Chechen and Ingush to the Classroom*

While students are certainly studying the war in Chechnya in the social studies classroom, teachers can also bring the Caucasus into the classroom to discuss how civilizations spread or to introduce students to linguistics as a career.

Professor Johanna Nichols, in Berkeley's Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, is interested in the spread of languages throughout the Eurasian steppe and is a specialist on the Nakh-Dagestanian (or Northeast Caucasian) family of languages. The Nakh-Dagestanian family is indigenous to the Caucasus and is not related to any language group in the world. It is the oldest reconstructable language family known, datable to about 8,000 years. (The Indo-European family can be dated to about 5,500 years, while the oldest in age, the Afro-Asiatic family, is too old to be reconstructable.) The Nakh-Dagestanian family is also the oldest linguistic survivor of North Mesopotamian farming culture, reflected in a rich vocabulary of agricultural science.

Sometime in the Middle Ages, the Chechen and Ingush languages came into existence. Because of their geographic proximity, it's not possible to estimate the exact time the two divided, but they are a little less close than Spanish and Portuguese. Chechnya and Ingushetia are found today within the Russian North Caucasus; for a graphic representation of where the languages are spoken, see the CIA map "Ethnolinguistic Groups in the Caucasus" (available at <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/commonwealth/ethnocaucasus.jpg>), which shows the region as of 1995. The Caucasus, the land between the Caspian and Black Seas that includes Russian territory and the countries of Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia, also hosts a rich diversity of plant and animal life. Strategic for its geography, this area came into contact with many other civilizations throughout history, but their sphere of control was generally confined to the lowlands, while the mountains served as a repository for indigenous life and culture.

The Chechen and Ingush cultures survived deportation to Central Asia under Stalin, at a great loss of population, and their subsequent return to the Caucasus. In his book *Language Death* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), David Crystal discusses how language is an important vehicle for cultural identity, "represent[ing] the distillation of the thoughts and communication of a people over their entire history" (38). The remarkable survival of the Chechen and Ingush languages makes their current precarious status so distressing.

A language is said to be *dead* when it is no longer spoken. Some, like Latin, evolve into new languages, but others become endangered and could meet a tragic end. While we recognize the uniqueness of endangered animals and their contribution to the diversity of life on earth, how often do we think about endangered languages? There are approximately 6,500 languages spoken in the world today, but linguists fear that at least half will become extinct by the end of this century. While some languages die when their populations undergo a cultural change, they are most at risk when their populations are threatened—by natural disasters, disease, political crisis, and so on. In the case of war, the situation is clear: if a large part of the population is displaced or dies, a language can quickly become endangered.

What can be done to protect a language? A language is in good shape when it is used in schools, in the community, and at home; spoken by all generations of the population, especially the young; has a written form and is documented in such things as dictionaries; and is valued and respected both by its speakers and those around them. *Language Death* lists a number of factors that can affect a language's viability (130–143). Linguists can help a language's viability by collecting and analyzing data, putting spoken languages into writing or improving their existing writing systems, creating dictionaries and grammars for reference, and collecting texts (such as audio recordings in people's own words) that show the language in action and preserve a piece of the culture. Linguists not only bring these languages to the attention of outsiders, but they have a professional imperative to return the fruits of their labor to the source.

With funding from the National Science Foundation and with the assistance of consultants and other researchers, Professor Johanna Nichols has undertaken significant studies of Chechen and Ingush. Resulting from those efforts are two dictionaries, *Noxchiin-ingals, ingals-noxchiin deshnizhaina / Chechen-English and English-Chechen Dictionary* (coauthored with Arbi Vagapov) and *Ghalghaai-ingalsii, ingalsa-ghalghaai lughat / Ingush-English and English-Ingush Dictionary*, that will be published by RoutledgeCurzon in 2003. Each dictionary includes a short but thorough description of the language's grammar, and Nichols is nearing the completion of a full-length Ingush grammar. Texts were collected on audio tape by graduate student researchers in the field, and a repository of these recordings will be kept at UC Berkeley, in London at the School for Oriental and African Studies, and, of course, in Chechnya and in Ingushetia. Sadly, texts



that had survived the deportations and had been kept at the university in Grozny were destroyed in the first Russian-Chechen war, so these new texts are truly invaluable.

An important reason why the Chechen and Ingush languages have survived to the present is an incredible respect for tradition and elders, a notion common to many cultures in the Caucasus. While the Chechen language is being transmitted today, the interest in new and outside things is weakening those traditions. Even more distressing is a terrible side effect of war: young people who become victims of rape are considered unmarriageable, leading to fewer families through whom the language is transmitted. When combined with an estimated 10 percent population loss, the loss of schools and other cultural institutions, and the displacement of approximately 200,000 Chechens (most of whom are residing in Ingushetia), the situation is indeed grave. The Ingush language is also endangered, in part, because most Ingush families now use Russian at home. Ingush is only taught in school as a subject, *about* the language, not *in* the language. Furthermore, people consciously consider using Russian words in Ingush as *switching to Russian*, not *borrowing* a word. Either language could easily take a drastic turn for the worse under present circumstances.

Having access to these dictionaries, grammars, and texts may help Chechens and Ingush preserve their languages. While both have been written with Latin and Arabic scripts in the past, they are currently written in Cyrillic. Cyrillic cannot accurately represent their numerous vowel sounds, so the project chose to write both languages phonemically with the Latin script. Using no diacritical marks, this allows them to be typed quickly, making electronic technology much more accessible (see page 141 of Crystal for the importance of electronic technology). It will also allow those who only speak the language, such as Chechens who live in the Diaspora (there is a sizable population of Chechens in

Jordan, for example), to learn and use this new writing system. Unfortunately, in 2002, the Russian government outlawed the use of any script other than Cyrillic, so these dictionaries could be illegal in Russia when they come out in print, causing a real setback for the goals of the project.

Besides contributing to the preservation of these languages, the project has additional benefits. Previously, the only reference materials for these languages used Russian as an intermediary. Chechen and Ingush speakers could use the new dictionaries to translate their words directly into English, offering greater opportunities for international communication, and since the dictionaries provide a pronunciation guide to many of the English words, Chechen and Ingush speakers could even use them to learn English. Direct access to these language for English speakers is another benefit. There are few places in the world where Chechen or Ingush are taught. Intensive instruction in both languages is being planned for summer 2005 at UC Berkeley, but until then, an English speaker could study from the dictionaries.

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For further reading on linguistics and language endangerment, see the many articles by the Linguistics Society of America on their Web site, <http://www.lsadc.org/>. *Language Death*, mentioned above, is written in a clear style that makes it approachable to the layperson. "An Overview of Languages of the Caucasus," written by Professor Nichols in 1998, is available electronically at <http://popgen.well.ox.ac.uk/eurasia/htdocs/nichols/nichols.html>.

*Stella Bourgoïn is a program representative at ISEES and works on outreach programs to educators.*

## Save the Date

### *Annual Teacher Outreach Conference*

On Saturday–Sunday, April 26–27, 2003, we will hold our Annual Teacher Outreach Conference on “**The Muslim World in Eastern Europe and Eurasia.**” Regional specialists will present educators with the contemporary role of Islam in Russia, the Caucasus, Central Asia, and the Balkans. The presentations will set a historical background as well as explore particular regional and local contexts. The conference will highlight the varieties of experience among Muslims, the political aspects of Islam, and the role of religious movements/parties/groups among Muslims.

The material is most appropriate for high school and community college levels, but educators from all levels are welcome to participate. Reference and educational materials will be distributed to the conference.

Registration will be required. A special mailing will be sent to educators on the ISEES mailing list. Those who wish to receive the mailing should contact ISEES at [isees@uclink4.berkeley.edu](mailto:isees@uclink4.berkeley.edu) or by post at the address on the cover of this newsletter.



# Faculty and Student News

**Chad Bryant** (Ph.D. in history, 2002) published his article, "Either German or Czech: Fixing Nationality in Bohemia and Moravia, 1939–1946," in the Winter 2002 volume of *Slavic Review*. Bryant is an assistant professor in the Department of history at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

**Anne Clunan** (Ph.D. in political science, 2001) is an assistant professor with the Department of National Security Affairs at the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, California.

**Stephen Collier** (Ph.D. in anthropology, 2001) is currently a lecturer with the Department of Anthropology at Columbia University.

**John Connelly**, associate professor in the Department of History, was appointed as a member of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey during 2002–2003.

**David Frick**, professor in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, is the author of "The Bells of Vilnius: Keeping Time in a City of Many Calendars," which is included in the forthcoming edited volume *Making Contact: Maps, Identity, and Travel* (Edmonton and Toronto: University of Alberta Press, 2003).

**Kristen Ghodsee** (Ph.D. in Education, 2002) published the occasional paper, "Mobility in Bulgaria and the European Union: Brain Drain, Bogus Asylum Seekers, Replacement Migration, and Fertility," with the East European Studies Program at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars while spending summer 2002 there as a research scholar. Ghodsee is an assistant professor of women's studies and Eurasian and East European studies at Bowdoin College in Maine.

**Brian Horowitz** (Ph.D. in Slavic languages and literatures, 1993) has returned to his job as associate professor of Russian and Judaic studies at the University of Nebraska after a two-year sabbatical in Germany, Ukraine, and Israel. He received an Alexander Von Humboldt Grant, a Fulbright Fellowship, and a Yad Hanadiv Fellowship at Hebrew University.

**Armine Ishkanian**, ISEES research scholar, presented a paper on "The Challenges of Doing NGO Research from a Diasporan's Perspective" at the American Anthropological Association meetings in November 2002. She also received an Individual Advanced Research Opportunity Grant from IREX for 2002–2003 for her project on "Armenia From Post-Soviet Poverty to Sustainable Development: The Role of

Local NGOs in Promoting Development and Alleviating Poverty in Armenia."

**Ellen Langer**, lecturer with the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, presented "The Sphere of Grammar and the Grammar of the Sphere: Public and Private Wives in Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina*" at the AATSEEL meeting in December 2002.

**Sanjyot Mehendale**, executive director of the Caucasus and Central Asia Program, presented two lectures on "Lost Art of Afghanistan: The Begram Ivory and Bone Carvings" at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in December 2002. Her lectures were cosponsored by the New York chapter of the Archaeological Institute of America.

**James Clay Moltz** (Ph.D. in political science, 1989) coauthored the book *Nuclear Weapons and Nonproliferation*, which was published by ABC-CLIO in 2002. Moltz is Director of the Newly Independent States Nonproliferation Program at the Monterey Institute of International Studies.

**Amy Moore**, Ph.D. candidate in comparative literature, presented "Translation, Assimilation: Confronting Generic Conventions of Nostalgia in Eva Hoffman's *Lost in Translation*" at the South Atlantic Modern Language Association convention in November 2002.

**Irina Paperno**, professor in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, recently published "Personal Accounts of the Soviet Experience" in the Fall 2002 issue of *Kritika*.

**Harsha Ram**, associate professor in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, presented "Romantic Topographies and the Dilemma of Empire: The Caucasus in the Dialogue of Georgian and Russian Poetry" at the Modern Language Association convention in December 2002.

**David Shneer** (Ph.D. in history, 2001) is a coeditor of and contributor to *Queer Jews*, published by Routledge in 2002. Shneer is an assistant professor of history and Judaic studies at the University of Denver.

**Rudra Sil** (Ph.D. in political science, 1996) is the author of the recent book, *Managing "Modernity": Work, Community, and Authority in Late-Industrializing Japan and Russia* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002). Sil is the Janice and Julian Bers Chair in the Social



Sciences and an assistant professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania.

**Mary Spicuzza**, M.J. candidate in the Graduate School of Journalism, traveled to Bucharest in the fall 2002 semester to conduct research on the Dracula tourism industry.

**Mirjana Stevanovic**, ISEES outreach staff member and research fellow at the Archaeological Research Facility,

presented "The Role of Clay in Shaping the Neolithic World" in September 2002 at the meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists in Thessaloniki, Greece.

**Edward W. Walker**, executive director of BPS, is the author of the book *Dissolution: Sovereignty and the Breakup of the Soviet Union*, which will be published by Rowman and Littlefield in March 2003.

## AAASS 2002 Convention

The American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies held its thirty-fourth annual convention on November 21–24, 2002 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The following UC Berkeley affiliates made presentations during the event:

**George Breslauer**, Dean of Social Sciences and professor in the Department of Political Science, participated in the roundtable on "Russia in the Year 2002."

**John Connelly**, associate professor of history, chaired the panel "Problems of Party-Building in Post-Communist Eastern Europe."

**Laura Henry**, Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Political Science, presented "Thinking Internationally, Acting Locally: The Development of the Russian Environmental Movement" at the panel on "The Impact of International Actors and International Norms in Russian Civil Society."

**Jeffrey Karlsen**, Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, presented "Primitives in the New World: Americanism as Exoticism" at the panel on "America in the Russian Imagination."

**Sonja Kerby**, Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, presented "Narrative Identity, Multiple Voices, and Anxiety of Authorship/Authority in Nadezhda Durova's *Frame Tales*" at the panel on "Multiplicity/Indeterminacy: Two Early Nineteenth-Century Women Writers."

**Ingrid Kleepsies**, Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, presented "Border Crossing: Constructions of Russian National Identity in Karamzin's *Pis'ma russkogo puteshestvennika* and Dostoevsky's *Zimnye zapiski na letnikh vpechatleniakh*" at the panel on "Travel, Difference, and Identity."

**James Krapfl**, Ph.D. candidate in history, presented the paper "From Absurdity to Synergy: World War I in Czech Mythology, 1918–1938" at the panel entitled "A Usable Past: State-Building and Memories of War, 1918–1938."

**Andrej Krickovic**, Ph.D. candidate in political science, served as the discussant for the panel "Problems of Party-Building in Post-Communist Eastern Europe."

**Michael Kunichika**, Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, presented "A Window on the Lake: An Expedition in and around the Belomor Canal" at the panel "New Research on the Belomor Canal," held in memory of Ivan Chukin.

**Ellen Langer** (Ph.D. in Slavic languages and literatures, 2001) presented "The Other as Self: Elements of Suppressed Autobiography in Nadezhda Durova's 'Ugol'" at the panel on "Multiplicity/Indeterminacy: Two Early Nineteenth-Century Women Writers."

**Ann Marsh-Flores**, Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, presented "Salon Culture, the Stroganov Academy, Co-Authorship, and the Versatility of Zinaida Volkonskaia" at the panel on "Multiplicity/Indeterminacy: Two Early Nineteenth-Century Women Writers."

**Eric Naiman**, associate professor in the Department of Slavic languages and literatures, presented "Verbal Displacement in a 'Guide to Berlin'" at the panel on "Exile and Displacement in Nabokov." He also served as the discussant on the panel "Freud and the Russian Artistic Imagination."

**Conor O'Dwyer**, Ph.D. candidate in political science, presented "Runaway State Building: Patronage Parties and the Reconstruction of State Administrations in Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia" at the panel "Problems of Party-Building in Post-Communist Eastern Europe."

**Grigore Pop-Eleches**, Ph.D. candidate in political science, presented "Protest Vote or Rejection of the West: Explaining Variations in the Appeal of Extremist Parties in Eastern Europe" at the panel "Problems of Party-Building in Post-Communist Eastern Europe."



**Harsha Ram**, associate professor in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, presented "Time and Place in Velimir Khlebnikov's Early Lyric 'Vam!'" at the panel on "The Poetics of Time in Russian Avant-Garde Literature and Art."

**Shawn Salmon**, Ph.D. candidate in history, participated in the roundtable on "Exposition, Performance, Tourism: Constructing Russian/Soviet Identities for the West from Nicholas I to Stalin."

**Allan Urbanic**, Slavic Collections Librarian, chaired the panel "Statistical Data from Russia: Transparency, Availability, and Access."

**Lisa Walker**, Ph.D. candidate in history, presented "The Return of the 'Pen and the Test-Tube': Local Zemstvo Perspectives on Medicine's Professional Debates, 1910–1915" at the panel on "Russian Professions and the Public Sphere."

**Alexei Yurchak**, assistant professor of anthropology, served as the discussant on the panel "Rethinking Resistance: A Discussion Across Borders."

**Reginald Zelnik**, professor of history, participated in the roundtable on "The Peasant-Worker Nexus."

## Fellowships and Other Opportunities

**ISEEES Travel Grants** provide limited travel support for faculty and ISEEES-affiliated graduate students. Awards up to \$400 (up to \$1,000 for international) are made to those presenting a paper at a meeting of a recognized scholarly organization. Awards are made on a first-come, first-served basis, and priority is given to those who did not receive ISEEES funding in the past AY. To apply send request with budget. Deadline: none. Contact: Barbara Voytek, ISEEES, UC Berkeley, 260 Stephens Hall # 2304, Berkeley CA 94720-2304; Tel: 510-643-6736; [bvoytek@socrates.berkeley.edu](mailto:bvoytek@socrates.berkeley.edu).

The **Drago and Danica Kosovac Prize** provides to a UCB undergraduate for an outstanding thesis (senior or honors) in the social sciences or humanities that researches some aspect of Serbian history or culture. Applications include submission of the written work and three letters of recommendation. Deadline: none. Contact: Barbara Voytek, ISEEES, UC Berkeley, 260 Stephens Hall # 2304, Berkeley CA 94720-2304; Tel: 510-643-6736; [bvoytek@socrates.berkeley.edu](mailto:bvoytek@socrates.berkeley.edu).

The **Hertelendy Graduate Fellowship in Hungarian Studies** provides partial assistance (tuition/stipend) to support Hungarian studies at UC Berkeley. Applicants may be of any nationality and citizenship, but must be US residents at the time of application, and must plan to pursue a career in the US. Fields of study, focusing on Hungarian/US-Hungarian/Europe (or EU)-Hungarian Studies. No electronic or faxed proposals will be considered. Deadline: 3/24/2003. Contact: ISEEES Executive Committee, c/o Barbara Voytek, UC Berkeley, 260 Stephens Hall # 2304, Berkeley CA 94720-2304; Tel: 510-643-6736; [bvoytek@socrates.berkeley.edu](mailto:bvoytek@socrates.berkeley.edu).

The **Peter N. Kujachich Endowment in Serbian and Montenegrin Studies** will award approximately \$10,000–13,000 for 2003–2004 to faculty and/or student projects that

focus on the experience of the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples. Possible projects entail research, instruction, colloquia, symposia, lecture series, publications, and creative thought and writing in the social sciences, humanities, and arts. Proposals should include a budget and timeline; no electronic or faxed proposals will be considered. Deadline: 3/24/2003. Contact: ISEEES Executive Committee, c/o Barbara Voytek, UC Berkeley, 260 Stephens Hall # 2304, Berkeley CA 94720-2304; Tel: 510-643-6736; [bvoytek@socrates.berkeley.edu](mailto:bvoytek@socrates.berkeley.edu).

### ACTR/ACCELS

**Language and Research Programs in Eastern Europe and the NIS** offer a fee program, although some fellowships awarded for 3-12 month fellowships for language study, professional internships, and research in all languages and regions of the NIS and the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Hungary. Included are group and individualized programs for language study, individual research programs, and combined research and language programs. Deadline: 3/1/03 for summer; 4/1/03 for fall or AY. Contact: ACTR/ACCELS, 1776 Massachusetts Ave NW Ste 700, Washington DC 20036; Tel: 202-833-7522; [outbound@actr.org](mailto:outbound@actr.org); <http://www.actr.org/>.

### AHA/NASA

The **Fellowship in Aerospace History** provides a stipend of \$20,000 for 6 months to one year of advanced research in history related to all aspects of aerospace, from the earliest human interest in flight to the present. Deadline: 3/1/2003. Contact: Fellowship in Aerospace History, American Historical Association, 400 A St SE, Washington DC 20003; Tel: 202-544-2422; Fax: 202-544-8307; [aha@theaha.org](mailto:aha@theaha.org); <http://www.theaha.org/info/fawards.html>.

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# Associates of the Slavic Center

The Center acknowledges with sincere appreciation the following individuals who have contributed to the annual giving program, the Associates of the Slavic Center (or have been enrolled due to their particular generosity toward Cal to support some aspect of Slavic & East European Studies), between September 1, 2002 and January 31, 2003. Financial support from the Associates is vital to our program of research, training, and extra-curricular activities. We would like to thank all members of ASC for their generous assistance.

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Send your check, made payable to the Regents of the University of California, to:

Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies  
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**Berkeley Language Center**  
**Instructional Research Fellowships for Graduate Students** are available for one semester during the next AY to enable GSIs to work on special projects both to improve the quality of language instruction in their departments and to enhance their professional development as teachers to improve their chances of future employment at other institutions. Deadline: 3/3/2003. Contact: Professor Claire Kramsch, BLC Fellowship Program, Berkeley Language Center, B-40 Dwinelle Hall #2640; Ckramsch@socrates.berkeley.edu; http://blc.berkeley.edu/.

**Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies**  
The **Darcovich Memorial Doctoral Fellowship** provides up to \$12,000 to a student writing a dissertation on a Ukrainian or Ukrainian-Canadian topic.

The **Dorosh Master's Fellowship** provides up to \$10,000 to a student writing a thesis on a Ukrainian or Ukrainian-Canadian topic.

The **Neporany Research and Teaching Fellowship** provides up to \$20,000 for postdoctoral research in Ukrainian studies at any university with research facilities and where the fellow is enabled to teach a related course. The fellowship funds half of the academic year but may be extended.

The **Kowalsky Programme for the Study of Eastern Ukraine** offers **Research Grants in Ukrainian Studies** for research on a Ukrainian or Ukrainian-Canadian topic in history, literature, language, education, or social sciences.

Deadline for all: 3/1/2003. Contact: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 352 Athabasca Hall, Edmonton AB, Canada T6G 2E8; cius@gpu.srv.ualberta.ca; http://www.ualberta.ca/~cius/.

**Coordinating Council for Women in History**  
The **CCWH Catherine Prelinger Award** provides \$10,000 for a scholar with a Ph.D. or A.B.D. who has not followed a traditional academic path of uninterrupted and completed secondary, undergraduate, and graduate degrees leading into a tenured faculty position. The recipient's project should clearly be historical in nature. Applicants must be CCWH members. Deadline: 4/4/2003. Contact: Professor Marguerite Renner, Chair, CCWH-Catherine Prelinger Award Committee, Glendale College, 1500 N Verdugo Rd, Glendale CA 91208; Tel: 818-240-1000, ext. 5461; prenner@glendale.cc.ca.us; http://theccwh.org/awards.htm.

**Dartmouth College**  
The **Leslie Center for the Humanities** offers the **Andrew W. Mellon Postdoctoral Fellowship** of \$40,800 per academic year plus benefits and research allowance. Fellows pursue their research while gaining pre-professional experience as teachers and department members. Deadline: 3/1/2003.

Contact: Dean Sandra Gregg, Dartmouth College, Wentworth Hall HB 6045, Hanover NH 03755; Sandra.L.Gregg@dartmouth.edu; http://www.dartmouth.edu/~lhc/.

**Institute of International Studies**  
The **Bendix Dissertation Fellowship** provides dissertation funding for a promising Berkeley grad student in political and social theory.

The **Sharlin Award** provides funding for a Berkeley grad student conducting dissertation research in historical sociology, historical demography, or social history.

**Simpson Dissertation Fellowships in International and Comparative Studies** are awarded to Berkeley graduate students conducting dissertation research.

Deadline for all: 3/31/2003. Contact: IIS, 215 Moses Hall #2308; Tel: 510-642-2472; http://globetrotter.berkeley.edu/fellowship/.

**IREX**  
**Starr Collaborative Research Grants** provide up to \$20,000 to a cross-border team of graduate and/or postgraduate scholars for one year. Applications are currently being accepted only on the topics of media and the Internet. At least one applicant must be a US citizen or permanent resident and at least two citizens and current residents of two different countries of the eligible regions at the time of application. Deadline: 5/1/2003. Contact: IREX, 2121 K St NW, Ste. 700, Washington DC 20037; Tel: 202-628-8188; Fax: 202-628-8189; irex@irex.org; http://www.irex.org/.

**Library of Congress**  
**Kluge Center Fellowships** provide \$3,500/mo for 6-12 months of research in residence at the collections of the Library of Congress. Scholars who have received a terminal advanced degree within the past seven years in the humanities, the social sciences, or in a professional field are eligible. Deadline: 8/15/2003. Contact: John W. Kluge Center Office of Scholarly Programs, Library of Congress LJ 120, 101 Independence Ave SE, Washington DC 20540-4860; Tel: 202-707-3302; Fax: 202-707-3595; scholarly@loc.gov; http://www.loc.gov/loc/kluge/.

**NCEEER**  
The **Ed Hewett Fellowship** provides up to \$40,000 to support research on the former Soviet Union and/or Central and Eastern Europe conducted by an individual scholar under the auspices of a US government agency. Applicants must be US-based scholars holding a Ph.D. in any discipline of the humanities and social sciences, with a concentration and considerable background in some aspect of the history, culture, politics, and economics of the region. Deadline: 3/15/2003. Contact: The National Council for Eurasian and



East European Research, 910 17th St NW Ste 300, Washington DC 20006; Tel: 202-822-6950; Fax: 202-822-6955; nceerdc@aol.com; <http://www.nceer.org/>.

#### **Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America**

The **Kazimierz Dzewanowski Memorial Award** provides \$1,000 for the best Doctoral or Master's thesis on a Polish topic written at an American university. Deadline: 4/2/2003. Contact: Dr. Thaddeus V. Gromada, Executive Director, Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America, 208 E 30th St, New York NY 10016; Tel: 212-686-4164; Fax: 212-545-1130; [piasany@bellatlantic.net](mailto:piasany@bellatlantic.net); <http://www.piasa.org/>.

#### **UC Berkeley**

**Chancellor's Dissertation-Year Fellowships** are awarded to outstanding students in the humanities and social sciences. Applicants must be advanced to candidacy at the time of the award and expect to finish their dissertations during the fellowship year. The Graduate Division requests nominations from departments in the spring semester; speak to your advisor about being nominated. Deadline: 3/5/2003.

**Mentored Research Awards** provide academically promising grad students the opportunity to do research that they would not be able to do otherwise and helps develop and strengthen their working relationships with faculty advisers. Applicants must be a US citizen or permanent resident who enhances the diversity within the department or discipline. The Graduate Division requests nominations from departments in the spring; speak with your advisor about being nominated. Deadline: 3/5/2003.

**UC Dissertation Year Fellowships** provide funding to eligible graduate students whose doctoral work will be completed by the end of the program and who demonstrate strong potential for university teaching and research. Applicants must be a US citizen or permanent resident whose background and life experiences enhance the level of diversity within the department or discipline. The Graduate Division requests nominations from departments in the spring semester; speak with your advisor about being nominated. Deadline: 3/5/2003.

Contact: Graduate Fellowships Office, 318 Sproul Hall # 5900; Tel: 510-642-0672; [http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/fellowships/fellowships\\_deadlines.shtml](http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/fellowships/fellowships_deadlines.shtml).

#### **University of Illinois**

The **Russian and East European Center** hosts a **Summer Research Lab on Russia & Eastern Europe** that provides library access and some free housing awards for research during June-August. Two weeks of programs include a symposium, workshops, lectures, and films. Deadline: 4/1/2003. Contact: Russian and East European Center, University of Illinois, 104 International Studies Bldg, 910 S Fifth St, Champaign IL 61820; Tel: 217-333-1244; Fax: 217-333-1582;

[reec@uiuc.edu](mailto:reec@uiuc.edu); <http://www.reec.uiuc.edu/srl.htm>.

#### **US Dept of Education / UC Berkeley**

**Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Summer Intensive Language Training Fellowships** provide registration fees and a stipend. Summer awards are not available for dissertation research. Deadline: 3/3/2003. Contact: Graduate Fellowships Office, 318 Sproul Hall # 5900; Tel: 510-642-0672; [http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/fellowships/fellowships\\_deadlines.shtml](http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/fellowships/fellowships_deadlines.shtml).

#### **Wenner-Gren Foundation**

**Individual Research Grants**, up to \$25,000, are available for basic research in all branches of anthropology. Grants are made to seed innovative approaches and ideas, to cover specific expenses or phases of a project, and/or to encourage aid from other funding agencies. Deadline: 5/1/03 (for grants to begin 1/1/04). Contact: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research Inc., 220 Fifth Ave 16th Fl, New York NY 10001-7708; Tel: 212-683-5000; Fax: 212-683-9151; <http://www.wennergren.org/>.

#### **Woodrow Wilson Center**

The **East European Studies Program** offers a **Junior Scholars Training Seminar** to participate in a training seminar in the Washington, DC area for Ph.D. students at the dissertation level or those who received a Ph.D. in the past year. Research is open to any field of East European or Baltic studies, excluding Russia and the FSU. See Web site for details. Deadline: 4/15/2003. Contact: East European Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center, One Woodrow Wilson Plaza, 1300 Pennsylvania Ave NW, Washington DC 20523; Tel: 202-691-4000; Fax: 202-691-4001; [kneppm@wwic.si.edu](mailto:kneppm@wwic.si.edu); <http://wwics.si.edu/ees/grants.htm>.

**East European Studies Short Term Grants** provide a stipend of \$100 a day, up to one month, for grad students and postdocs who are engaged in specialized research requiring access to Washington, DC and its research institutions. Grants do not include residence at the Wilson Center. Deadline: 6/1/03.

Contact: East European Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center, One Woodrow Wilson Plaza, 1300 Pennsylvania Ave NW, Washington DC 20523; Tel: 202-691-4000; Fax: 202-691-4001; [kneppm@wwic.si.edu](mailto:kneppm@wwic.si.edu); <http://wwics.si.edu/ees/grants.htm>.



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